

Abraham Lincoln in the Black Hawk War /

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN THE BLACK HAWK WAR. BY ALFRED AUGUSTUS JACKSON.

Black Hawk was chief of a band of Sac Indians. The Sacs are supposed to have come from Canada at an early date.¹ They lived for a long time in the vicinity of Rock Island. Their main village was located at the junction of the Rock and Mississippi rivers. This village, Black Hawk says, had existed for over a hundred years.² In this village, he claims to have been born in 1767.³ The Sacs and Foxes formed a sort of confederacy, and lived together in friendly relations.

¹ *Life of Ma-ka-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, or Black Hawk, dictated by himself* (St. Louis ed., 1882), p. 11; this will be referred to later, as "Black Hawk's Autobiography." See also, *Wis. Hist. Colls*, iii, p. 136. For bibliography of the Black Hawk War, see *Id.*, xii, p. 217, *note*.

² *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 58.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 16.

In 1804,⁴ a treaty was made with the Sac and Fox Indians at St. Louis, by Gen. William Henry Harrison, by which these tribes relinquished their claims to the lands bounded by the Mississippi, the Illinois, and the Wisconsin rivers. The tribes were not immediately removed from the lands described in the treaty, but were permitted to live and hunt upon them so long as the government owned them. Although this treaty was ratified several times, Black Hawk always insisted that his people had not consented to the document, and were not bound by it.⁵

⁴ *Indian Treaties, U. S. Stat. at Large*, vii, p. 84.

5 *BlackHawk's Autobiog.*, p. 8.

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About 1828, the public lands about Rock Island were offered for sale by the government. The white population in Illinois had increased so rapidly, that in 1830 it numbered about 155,000. In 1831, the Indians became troublesome, and frequent conflicts occurred between them and the whites. Complaints were made to the government by the white settlers, and the tribesmen were required to move to the west side of the Mississippi.¹ A portion of the Sacs and Foxes, under Keokuk, head chief of the Foxes, peaceably removed across the river as required; but Black Hawk and a portion of the Sacs, who were in sympathy with him, refused to leave. It was the custom of the Indians to leave their village and winter in other portions of the country, west of the Mississippi, hunting and trapping. In the spring of 1831, when they returned from their hunting expedition, they found that the whites had taken possession of portions of the lands they had occupied and cultivated.² Black Hawk was greatly dissatisfied with this, and ordered the whites away, threatening them with death if they remained.³ The settlers became alarmed for their safety, and complained to Gov. John Reynolds, of Illinois, who reported the fact to Gen. Edmund P. Gaines of the United States Army.⁴

1 *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 84.

2 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 224.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 295.

4 Ford's *History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), iii, p. 111.

Reynolds, at the request of Gaines, called out 700 volunteers, and 1,500 responded to the call.⁵ With this force, and several companies of regulars, Gaines marched to the mouth of Rock River, whereupon Black Hawk with his band moved to the west side of the Mississippi.⁶ Gaines threatened to pursue the Sacs across the river and punish them for

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their disregard of the treaty. To prevent this, Black Hawk made another treaty with Gaines, by which he agreed to remain on the west. side of the river, and not

5 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

6 *Ibid*, p. 113.

120 to recross it without the consent of the president, or of the governor of Illinois.¹

1 Ford., p. 116.

Notwithstanding this treaty, the Black Hawk band recrossed the Mississippi below Rock Island, April 6, 1832.² This was regarded by Reynolds as an invasion of Illinois, whereupon he issued a call for volunteers, to meet at Beardstown April 22, to protect the settlers and drive the Indians from the State. It may be observed that Black Hawk was not loyal to this government. His sympathies were wholly with the British, and his band was known as the "British band."³

2 *Ibid.*, p. 116; Lamon's *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* (Chicago, 1895), p. 100; Wakefield's *History of the War between the U. S. and the Sac and Fox Nations of Indians* (Jacksonville, Ill., 1834), p. 10; *Black Hawk and Mexican War Records of Illinois* (Springfield, 1882), p. xv.

3 *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 78; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 289.

It was at this time, and under these circumstances, that Abraham Lincoln first became an historic character. His father and mother were born in Virginia,⁴ and soon after their marriage emigrated to Hardin county, Kentucky, where Abraham was born on February 12, 1809. At an early day, his father and mother moved into Indiana, and from there into Illinois.⁵

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4 Arnold's *Life of Lincoln* (Chicago, 1887), p. 17; Tarbell's *Early Life of Lincoln* (N. Y., 1896), pp. 36, 37.

5 Arnold, pp. 17, 18, 28.

When Reynolds issued his call for volunteers, April 16, 1832, young Lincoln was living at New Salem, near Springfield, in Sangamon county, about 120 miles south from Rock Island.⁶ When the call was issued, Lincoln promptly enlisted, and with many of his neighbors went to Beardstown, in Cass county, about 40 miles northwest of Springfield. At Beardstown, the company which he had joined was organized April 21, by his selection as captain.⁷ There was another candidate for the position. The method of

⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 31, 32; *Black Hawk and Mexican War Records*, p. 176.

⁷ Tarbell, p. 138.

121 election adopted, was for the two candidates to take separate positions, and let each member of the company form in line with the candidate, he preferred. Lincoln's line was much longer than that of the other candidate; he was, therefore, declared elected.¹ In a brief autobiographical sketch made later in life, referring to this election, he said: "Then came the Black Hawk War, and I was elected a captain of volunteers, a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since."

¹ Arnold, p. 30.

Lincoln was, at this time, only a little over twenty-three years of age. He was not the ignorant man that many have been led to believe. Although his advantages for education were quite limited, and would not compare favorably with those enjoyed by most youth of to-day, they were the same as those of his comrades. While he had not had access to many books, he had read with care everything within his reach. What he had read, he had retained. He was naturally studious and thoughtful, and it is probable that in intelligence and prudence he was the superior, not only of his young companions, but of most of the

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older pioneers of Illinois. It is almost certain, from the somewhat limited knowledge that we have of his early life, that at the time he was elected captain of this militia company he was a brave, earnest, self-reliant man.

The company of which Lincoln was captain, formed a part of the Fourth Illinois Regiment, commanded by Col. Samuel Thompson.² This volunteer force was placed under the command of Gen. Samuel Whiteside, of the Illinois volunteers. April 27, this force, accompanied by the governor (Reynolds), commenced its march to Rock island,³ by the way of Oquaka, in Henderson county, and Yellow Banks, on the Mississippi, at which latter place it was expected that boats with provisions would meet it.

² Lamon, p. 102; Wakefield, p. 13; Armstrongs *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War* (Springfield, Ill., 1887), p. 665.

³ Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln—a History* (N. Y., 1890), i, p. 90.

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The column halted at the crossing of Henderson River, in Henderson county, for the purpose of constructing a bridge. An order was here issued forbidding the firing of arms within fifty yards of the camp. Captain Lincoln violated this order, by firing his pistol within the prescribed limits, and was placed under arrest and deprived of his sword for a day.¹

¹ Lamon, p. 102; Herndon and Weik's *Herndon's Lincoln* (Chicago, 1889), i, p. 95.

On the march, a soldier of a company from Sangamon county broke into the officers' quarters in the night, and stole a quantity of liquors. Of course without the knowledge of the captain, the thief supplied Lincoln's company so liberally that in the morning they were unable to march, and were left behind by the army to get sober.² Although Lincoln was without fault in the matter, he was again punished, this time by being compelled to wear a wooden sword for two days.

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2 Lamon, p. 103.

In those early days, Lincoln was as strict and just in his observance and enforcement of the rights of others, as in his later years. There came into the camp of Lincoln's company a poor, hungry Indian, who presented a begging letter from Gen. Lewis Cass, recommending him for his services to the whites. The men were disposed to regard him as a spy, and to treat him accordingly. Lincoln promptly interfered, declaring that this peaceful Indian should not be killed by them. Some of his men charged him with cowardice, whereupon Lincoln replied, "If any man thinks I am a coward, let him test it!" One of the men said, "You are larger and heavier than we are." Lincoln replied, "This you can guard against; choose your weapons." No weapons were chosen, and the incident ended.³

3 Arnold, p. 34; Herndon, i, p. 95.

From Henderson River, they marched to Yellow Banks, where they arrived on May 3. There they waited three days for the provision boats, and then proceeded to the 123 mouth of Reek River, where they arrived May 7,¹ and found General Atkinson with a force of regulars, and were mustered into the United States service.

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 234.

In the memoir of Jefferson Davis by his wife,² it is stated that when this volunteer force was called out by Governor Reynolds, Gen. Winfield Scott was in command at Fort Shelling, and dispatched thence to the seat of war two lieutenants to muster in the Illinois volunteers. One of these lieutenants was said to be a "very fascinating young man, of easy manners and affable disposition;" while "the other was equally pleasant and extremely modest;" it is further stated that "a tall, homely young man, dressed in a suit of blue jeans," presented himself to the lieutenants as the captain of a company of volunteers, and was

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with the others duly sworn in; and that the oath of allegiance was administered to the “young man in blue jeans” by the “fascinating” young lieutenant, first named.

2 *Jefferson Davis*—a Memoir (N. Y., 1890), i, p. 182.

This “fascinating” young officer was Jefferson Davis. who was nearly a year the senior of Lincoln; his “extremely modest” colleague was Robert Anderson, who at the beginning of the War of Secession was in command at Fort Sumter; and the tall, homely, young captain in “blue jeans,” was Abraham Lincoln. There may be a grain of truth in this romantic statement, but it is doubtful. At the time Lincoln was elected captain, and mustered into service, Scott was not at Fort Shelling; he was in the East, and did not reach Chicago until July 8.3 Lieut. Jefferson Davis did not, at that time, come from Fort Snelling; he had for a considerable time been with Col. Zachary Taylor at Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien). Neither did Anderson come from Fort Shelling, but from Jefferson Barracks, at St. Louis. It is possible that Lieutenant Davis administered the oath of allegiance, but I am not

3 *Memoir of Lt. Gen. Scott* (N. Y., 1864), i, p. 219; Mansfield's *Gen. Winfield Scott* (N. Y., 1858), p. 203; *Western Annals* (Cincinnati, 1846), p. 800; *Hist. of Cook Co., Ill.*, p. 204.

124 aware of any record of such an event. Indeed it is stated upon what is believed to be good authority, that Lincoln and his company were mustered into service by Colonel Taylor himself.¹

1 Legend attached to portrait of Col. Zachary Taylor, in rooms of Chicago Historical Society.

At Rock Island, it was agreed between Generals Atkinson and Whiteside,² that the latter should march up the easterly bank of Rock River to the Prophetstown, an Indian village on the east bank of that river, and there rest his army and await the arrival of Atkinson's command in boats. Whiteside proceeded on his march, but only halted at Prophetstown long enough to destroy the village, then proceeded up the river about forty miles, to Dixon's ferry, where Dixon now stands, reaching there May 12.³ At Dixon's, Whiteside

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found two battalions of mounted men, under the command of Majors Isaiah Stillman and David Bailey.⁴

² Ford, p. 117; Duis, *Good Old Times in McLean Co., Ill.* (Bloomington, 1874), p. 101.

³ Tarbell, p. 141; Wakefield, p. 16.

⁴ Ford, p. 117.

Meanwhile, Black Hawk had preceded Whiteside up the easterly bank of the Rock, and at the time of the arrival of the latter at Dixon's was at or near Sycamore Creek. It was the purpose of Whiteside to await at Dixon's the arrival of Atkinson. But Stillman's men became impatient, and desired to march farther north, and ascertain the whereabouts of the fugitive Indians. This the general permitted them to do.⁵ May 12, Stillman commenced his march northerly, still along the easterly bank of the Rock.⁶ On the afternoon of the 14th, he went into camp at Sycamore Creek, now known as Stillman's Run, in Ogle county, and about eight miles from Black Hawk's camp.⁷

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 117; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 235.

⁶ Ford, p. 118; Drake's *Great Indian Chief of the West* (Cincinnati, 1854), p. 147.

⁷ Brown's *History of Illinois* (N. Y., 1844), p. 361; Tarbell, p. 142; *Wis Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 235.

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Black Hawk says that when he learned that these white soldiers were near him, he sent three of his young men with a white flag to conduct them to his camp, that he might hold a council with them, and with them descend Rock River again, and return to the west side of the Mississippi. He also sent five others to see what might take place.¹ The three Indians with the flag entered Stillman's camp, and were taken prisoners; the other five, when seen by Stillmen's men, were pursued without orders or officers. When Black Hawk found that

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his men were being chased by the whites, he formed an ambush, and upon the approach of the latter attacked them so vigorously that they turned and fled.² Eleven of Stillman's men were killed. The regiment to which Lincoln's company belonged, was meanwhile at Dixon's Ferry. The next day, Whiteside's force—among them, Lincoln's company—marched to the scene of this disaster and buried the dead.³

1 *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 96; Moses's *Illinois* (Chicago, 1889), p.367.

2 *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 96; Tarbell, p. 142; Ford, p. 118; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 320; Brown, pp. 361, 362; Lamon, p. 105; Duis, p. 101.

3 Lamon, p. 106.

Later, when Lincoln was in congress, he gave a humorous account of his part in this affair.⁴ Lewis Cass was a candidate for the presidency, and his war record was referred to, showing his eminent services to the country, whereupon Lincoln made the following reference to his own military career: "By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir, in the days of the Black Hawk War, I fought, bled, and came away. Speaking of General Cass's career, reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass to Hull's surrender; and like him, I saw the place very soon afterward. It is quite certain I did not break my sword, for I had none to break; but I bent a musket pretty badly, on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is, he broke it in. desperation; I bent the musket by accident. If

4 Arnold, p. 37.

126 General Cuss went in advance of me, in picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the wild onions. If he saw any live, fighting Indians, it was more than I did,—but I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes; and although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry.

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"Mr. Speaker, if I should ever conclude to doff whatever our Democratic friends may suppose there is of black-cockade Federalism about me, and, thereupon, they should take me up as their candidate for the presidency, I protest they shall not make fun of me as they have of General Cuss. by attempting to write me into a military hero."

The time for which the volunteers enlisted having nearly expired, they now became clamorous for their discharge. Whiteside marched them back to Ottawa, in La Salle county, where they were discharged from service; on May 28, Lincoln's company was mustered out, and his office of captain terminated.

Lincoln was evidently a good soldier. It is said of him, that he was always ready for an emergency; that he complacently endured hardships; that he never complained, nor did he fear danger. When fighting was expected, or danger apprehended, he was the first to say, "Let's go;"¹ that he had the confidence of every man of his company, and that they strictly obeyed his orders.²

¹ Ford, pp. 123, 124,; Lemon, p. 113; Moses, p. 369.

² Lamon, p. 112.

Prior to the discharge of the volunteers commanded by Whiteside, Governor Reynolds had issued another call for 2,000 volunteers.³ He also made a personal appeal to the volunteers who were mustered out on the 28th, to re-enlist and serve for twenty days more, until the new regiments were formed.⁴ In response to this appeal, Lincoln again enlisted, and on May 29 was, this time by Lieut. Robert Anderson, mustered into a company of mounted independent

³ Smith's *Hist. of Wis.*, iii, p. 175; *Wis. Hist. Colls.* vii p.324.

⁴ Ford, p. 124; Lemon, p. 113; Armstrong, pp. 676, 677.

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127 rangers, under Capt. Elijah Iles.¹ Lincoln furnished his arms and horse; the former were valued at \$40, and the horse and equipments at \$120.²

¹ Lamon, p. 113; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 176; Moses, p. 370.

² *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 176.

Iles's company of rangers was held by General Atkinson in reserve for special duty. A few days after being mustered in, they were sent by the general to open communication with Galena, and to ascertain the whereabouts of the Indians.³ Before setting out on this expedition, they reported to Colonel Taylor, at Dixon's Ferry. The company marched to Galena and ascertained the condition of the settlements, then returned to Atkinson's camp at Ottawa.⁴ The term of their enlistment having expired, they were, on June 16, mustered out by Lieutenant Anderson.⁵

³ Tarbell, pp. 147–152.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 152.

⁵ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 176; Armstrong, p. 691

On the same day, Lincoln again enlisted, this time as private in an independent company, under Capt. Jacob M. Early. and was again mustered in by Lieutenant Anderson. Once more he furnished his arms and horse, the former being valued at \$15, but the horse and equipments at only \$85.⁶ After Fort Sumter was evacuated. Anderson, then major, went to Washington and called upon President Lincoln. The latter said to him, "Major, do you remember ever meeting me before?" The major replied, "No, Mr. President, I have no recollection of ever having had the pleasure before." "My memory is better than yours," responded the president, "You mustered me into the service of the United States in 1832, at Dixon's Ferry, in the Black Hawk War."⁷

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6 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 176.

7 Arnold, p. 36.

Atkinson's army was now divided into three brigades, under Generals James D. Henry, M. K. Alexander, and Alexander Posey. Henry's brigade (organized June 20) formed the right wing, Alexander's (organized June 16) 128 the center, and Posey's (organized June 12) the left wing. June 25, the brigades of Alexander and Henry reached Dixon's.¹

¹ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory* (Madison, 1885), pp. 145, 217, 218.

On the 22nd, Captain Early was ordered by Atkinson to proceed to Dixon's with his company of spies, and report to Gen. Hugh Brady, of the United States army, who was then in command of the regulars.² Brady being afterwards taken ill, was obliged to turn over his command to Atkinson.³ On the 25th, a battle occurred at Kellogg's Grove,⁴ a few miles north of Dixon's Ferry, between a small force under Major Dement, and a party of Sacs, in which five whites and nine Indians were killed. Dement having called for assistance, Early's company marched all night and reached the scene of the conflict at sunrise the next morning.⁵ The Indians had fled before the arrival of these reinforcements. It is probable that Early's company promptly returned to Dixon's Ferry.⁶

² *Records of War Dept.*; Brown, p. 367.

³ Blanchard's *Discovery and Conquest of the Northwest* (Wheaton, Ill., 1879), p. 384.

⁴ Ford, p. 129; Smith, i, p. 170; Tarbell, p. 154; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 243; Brown, p. 367; Barrett's *Abraham Lincoln* (Cincinnati and N. Y., 1865), p. 43.

⁵ Lamon, p. 178. This author mistakes Gratiot's Grove for Kellogg's Grove.

⁶ Brown, p. 367.

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On the 27th, Henry's brigade and the regulars, under Zachary Taylor,⁷ accompanied by Atkinson, resumed their line of march up the east bank of the Rock. Early's company of rangers, in which Lincoln was a private, was with Henry. On June 30,⁸ this force crossed the Territorial line into what is now Wisconsin, at Turtle Village (of Winnebagoes), where Beloit now stands, and camped on the bank

⁷ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 246.

⁸ Wakefield, p. 4; C. Buckley, in Beloit, *Free Press*, Oct. 15, 1891, and Jan. 21, 1892; Barrett, p. 43; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 246; Ford, p. 131; Moses, p. 372.

129 of the river about a mile above the village. At this time, however, the village had been abandoned.¹

¹ Guernsey and Willard's *History of Rock County, Wis.* (Janesville, 1856) p.20.

On July 1, the army continued its march up Rock River.² After they had proceeded two or three miles, they saw on the high ground on the west side of the river, an Indian, who was probably a spy.³ This high ground was undoubtedly the bluff on the west side of the river, north of Beloit. Wakefield, who was with the army, says that they had proceeded a few miles farther, when they came to the place where the Indians who had taken the two Hall girls prisoners, had stayed several days; and that it was a strong position, where the captors could have withstood a powerful force. This was, undoubtedly, what is now called Black Hawk's Grove, on the lands of Levi St. John and J. P. Wheeler. This statement of Wakefield's, to some extent corroborates a like statement in the *History of Rock County*, by Guernsey and Willard, published in 1856.⁴ It is also stated in this history that the Hall girls were with the Indians, and were here ransomed.⁵ Lincoln was, therefore, here with his company, under General Henry, on July 1, 1832.

² Ford, p. 131.

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3 Wakefield, p.

4 Guernsey and Willard, p. 19.

5 *Ibid.*

When the first agricultural settlers came into Rock county, the tent poles and remains of the Indian camp fires were still to be found in Black Hawk's Grove,⁶ and are membered by some of these settlers, who are still with us. They indicated a more permanent camp than that of a retreating Indian force.

6 *Ibid.*

When Black Hawk was in Illinois and in the mining country, he did not have with him his old men and women and children. They were, however, in his company at the Battle of the Bad Ax.⁷ They had joined him at some point ⁹

7 *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 107.

130 after he left Illinois. It is therefore probable that Black Hawk's Grove was the headquarters of his band, from which raids were made in different directions.

Wakefield further says: "We had not marched but a few miles from the place before one of our forward scouts came back, meeting the army in great haste and stated that they had discovered a fresh trail of Indians, where they had just went along in front of us. Major Ewing, who was in front of the main army some distance, immediately formed his men in line of battle and marched in that order in advance of the main army about three-quarters of a mile. We had a thick wood to march through, where the undergrowth stood very high and thick. We marched in abreast in this order about two miles, not stopping for the unevenness of the ground, or anything else—but keeping in line of battle all the time, until we found the Indians had scattered, then we resumed our common line of march, which was in three divisions."¹

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1 Wakefield, p. 42.

The thick woods referred to by Wakefield, were doubtably the heavy timber lying between Janesville and Milton, along the Milton road. As Early's company of rangers, of which Lincoln was a member, was mounted, it was undoubtedly scouting in advance of the army, on this march through Janesville.

On the evening of July 1, Atkinson's force, or one division of it, camped at or near Storrs Lake, but a short distance east of the village of Milton.² The following morning, the army proceeded almost directly north, to nearly the north line of Rock county, where they changed to northwesterly course, leading to Lake Koshkonong. After marching a few miles, they struck the main trail of Black Hawk's force, which appeared to be about two days old. Early's rangers were still in advance of the column. The forces were halted, and Major Ewing, Major Anderson, and Captain Early went forward to reconnoitre. Anderson,

2 *Ibid*, p. 43.

131 son, with his telescope, could see across Lake Koshkonong. I have found no record of the army on July 3. It is alleged that it camped on the north side of Otter Creek, in section 3, in the town of Milton, about two miles from Lake Koshkonong. In 1840, the late Isaac T. Smith located a portion of section 10, adjoining section 3; he made a claim to the land March 4, 1837, before it was in market. At that time, posts set in the ground, where beeves were hauled up to be dressed, were still standing on the south side of Otter Creek, also in section 3.¹

1 MS. memoir of Isaac T. Smith.

While at this camp, the scouts captured and brought in an old blind Sac Indian.² When the army marched, they left the Indian some food and a barrel of water; but when the forces of either Posey or Alexander arrived, the poor fellow was shot by their scouts, thus being the only Indian known to have been killed in Rock county.

2 Ford, p. 131.

On the evening of July 8, Alexander arrived with his men. He had been sent to Plum River, on the Mississippi, to prevent the escape of the enemy in that direction. July 4, Major Ewing, with his spy battalion, and Colonel Collins and Col. Gabriel Jones were directed to follow the trail up the Rock. Finding that it continued up stream, they returned to camp late in the evening. July 6, Atkinson marched to Burnt Village, at the junction of White-water Creek with Bark River.³ That night, Posey's brigade and Col. Henry Dodge's regiment arrived at the mouth of the White-water.⁴ Captain Early also returned from a scout, and reported finding a fresh trail, three miles beyond, but this proved to be a mistake. The following day, Atkinson marched several miles up the Rock, and on the 8th returned to the mouth of the White-water. Winnebago Indians now reported Black Hawk on the island in Lake Koshkonong, now called Black Hawk's Island. On the

3 Wakefield, p. 45; Moses, p. 373; Brown, p. 368.

4 Ford, p. 132.

132 9th, Early's company crossed to the island on rafts, but no Indians were found there.¹

1 Ford, pp. 132–134.

I have been thus particular in tracing Captain Early's company, for the purpose of showing that Lincoln was with the right wing of Atkinson's army, and marched up the Rock, through Beloit and Janesville, and that he was neither with the left wing of the army under Posey, nor with the center under Alexander. Early's rangers were with Atkinson, scouting on July 2, while Alexander did not join Atkinson until the evening of July 3, and Posey did not come up until the evening of July 6.

By July 10, the provisions of the army were exhausted, and the soldiers were suffering. Henry and Alexander were sent to Fort Winnebago for supplies; Posey was ordered to Fort Hamilton; Taylor, with the regulars, went to Prairie du Chien; Emery's regiment

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returned to Dixon's with Capt. Charles Dunn, who had been seriously wounded at Burnt Village; while Early's rangers were mustered out, and discharged from the service.²

² Wakefield, p. 45.

Lincoln was mustered out July 10.³ The next day he started with his fellows, for his home in Illinois. That night, his horse and that of a comrade were stolen, and they were obliged to walk, except when other more fortunate members of the company permitted them to ride while they walked. The two horseless rangers went from the mouth of the Whitewater to Peoria, and then down Illinois River in a boat.⁴ As Peoria lies a little west of south of Janesville, they must have passed through Rock county. It is highly probable that they returned over the trail, through Black Hawk's Grove, over which they had marched only a few days before.

³ Tarbell, p. 155; Lamon, p. 118.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 118.

There was issued to Lincoln, as a soldier in the Black Hawk War, on April 16, 1852, under the act of congress 1850, a land-warrant for 40 acres, which was located by 133 him in Iowa. Another warrant for 120 acres was issued to him on April 22, 1856, under the act of 1855; this he located in Illinois.¹

¹ Herndon, p. 101.

While Lincoln's service in the Black Hawk War was brief, it must have made him familiar with the method of equipping and handling soldiers, and have given him knowledge that in after years was of great advantage to him. He demonstrated during the War of Secession that he possessed high military capacity. As a strategist, he was the equal of the best, and the superior of most of his generals.

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It is of interest to recall the names of those connected with the Black Hawk War who were or became distinguished in the history of the Northwest, and most of whom were with General Atkinson as he marched through Rock county. Among these, were Col. Zachary Taylor, who won renown in the Mexican War, and afterwards became president; Abraham Lincoln, who also became president; Jefferson Davis, later the president of the Confederate States; Robert Anderson, who commanded Fort Sumter at the beginning of the War of Secession, and later became major general; Albert Sidney Johnston, who became a general in the Confederate army, and commanded the Southern forces at the battle of Shiloh, where he was killed by the fire of an Illinois regiment; Gen. Henry Dodge, who was twice appointed governor of Wisconsin Territory, twice elected delegate of the Territory in congress, and twice elected to the United States Senate; W. S. Harney, in later years a general in the United States army; Col. William S. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton; Col. Nathan Boone, a son of Daniel Boone, of Kentucky; Maj. Sidney Breese, later chief justice of the supreme court of Illinois; Capt. Charles Dunn, who became a member of the Wisconsin supreme court; Capt. John H. Roundtree, who for many years was a member of the State senate; John Reynolds, governor of Illinois; O. H. Browning, afterwards a United States senator from Illinois, and secretary of the interior; John J. Hardin, who as a general was killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico; E. D. Baker, who became a senator and a general, and was killed at Ball's Bluff, in the War of Secession,—and many others.

Abraham Lincoln was again in Rock county, in 1859. An invitation had been extended to him to deliver the annual address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society, at its fair held that year in Milwaukee. He delivered his address on Friday, September 30. Upon his return from Milwaukee, the following day, he accepted an invitation by the Republican club of Beloit to deliver an address in that city. He was met at the railway station by the members of the club, a band of music, and a large number of the citizens of Beloit, and escorted in a carriage to the Bushnell House (now the Goodwin House), where he took dinner. At two o'clock he was escorted to Hanchett's Hall, at the corner of Broad and State

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streets, where he was introduced to a large and enthusiastic audience by John Bannister, the president of the Republican club, and presented a most conclusive vindication of the principles of the Republican party. His address was a review of the then somewhat famous article, "Popular Sovereignty in the Territories," contributed by Stephen A. Douglas to *Harper's Monthly*, for the preceding month of September.¹ The meeting closed with three hearty cheers for the speaker.

¹ *Harper's Monthly*, vol. xix, p. 519.

At that time, I was secretary of the Republican club of Janesville. Learning, on the morning of Saturday, that Lincoln was to deliver an address in Beloit in the afternoon of that day,—I had heard the debate between Lincoln and Douglas, at Freeport, in August, 1858,—it seemed to me very desirable that Mr. Lincoln address the Republicans of Janesville. I was at that time living with my partner, James H. Knowlton. Both Mr. and Mrs. Knowlton were out of the city; not wishing, therefore, to take Mr. Lincoln to the home of Judge Knowlton in the latter's absence, I asked William M. Tallman if he would entertain the speaker while in our city, which he assured me he would ¹³⁵ be pleased to do. I then asked him to accompany me Beloit, to invite the speaker. I took Judge Knowlton's carriage and driver, and with Mr. Tallman started for Beloit. On Main street, near Milwaukee street, we met Daniel Wilcox, one of the publishers of the *Gazette*, and I requested him also to accompany us to Beloit, which he did. When we reached Hanchett's Hall, Lincoln had commenced his address. At its close, we introduced ourselves to him, and extended to him an invitation to return with us to Janesville and address our people that evening. This he consented to do, and we immediately returned to Janesville, reaching there before dusk. Finding James H. Burgess at Beloit, he accepted our invitation to ride back to Janesville with us.

While returning from Beloit to Janesville, we came up what is known as the prairie, or town-line road. This runs near the trail followed by Black Hawk and Atkinson's army. While

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coming over the prairie between Beloit and Janesville, Lincoln recognized the route over which he had marched twenty-seven years before, and freely talked with us about it.

On reaching Janesville, the news that Lincoln had arrived and would address the people that evening, spread rapidly through the city, and a large audience gathered in what was then known as Young America Hall, in the Myers building. He was introduced to the audience by Dr. R. B. Treat, president of the Republican club, and spoke entirely and with great effect, upon the political topics of the day.

Mr. Lincoln remained with the Tallmans until Monday morning. On Sunday, he attended the Congregational Church with the Tallman family, and on Monday morning left Janesville for his home in Illinois. He was never in Wisconsin again.

I have made out the probable itinerary of Abraham Lincoln in the Black Hawk War (1832), as follows:

April 21st, enlisted at Beardstown, Ill.; 22nd to 26th, at Beardstown, Ill.; 27th, commenced the march to the mouth 136 of the Rock River; April 27th to May 3rd, on the march from Beardstown to Yellow Banks; 3rd to 7th, marched from Yellow Banks to Fort Armstrong, at the mouth of Rock River; 8th, at Fort Armstrong; 9th, commenced the march to Dixon's, by way of the Prophetstown; 10th and 11th, on the march from Fort Armstrong to Dixon's; 12th to 14th, at Dixon's, mustered into service; 15th, marched to Stillman's Run; 16th, returned to Dixon's; 19th, marched north from Dixon's; 20th to 22nd, north of Stillman's Run, searched for Black Hawk; 23rd to 26th, marched to Ottawa; 27th, mustered out at Ottawa, and re-enlisted in company of Capt. Elijah Iles; 29th, at Ottawa, mustered into Capt. Iles's company; May 29th to June 15th, in camp with General Atkinson at Ottawa, and on march to Galena and return; 16th, at Ottawa, mustered out by Robert Anderson; 16th to 20th, at Ottawa, enlisted in the company of Capt. Jacob M. Early; 20th, mustered in; 21st, at Ottawa; 22nd, at Ottawa, ordered by Atkinson to march to Dixon's and report to General Brady; 23rd and 24th, at Dixon's, and scouting in that vicinity; 25th, marched to

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Kellogg's Grove; 26th, returned from Kellogg's Grove to Dixon's; 27th, marched north on the easterly side of Rock River, with Henry's brigade; 28th and 29th, on the march; 30th, reached Turtle Village, where Beloit now stands; July 1st, marched up Rock River to Black Hawk's Grove, at Janesville, and to Storrs Lake, at Milton; 2nd, marched from Milton north, towards Lake Koshkonong, camped on Otter Creek, and scouted in advance of the army; 3rd, scouted near Lake Koshkonong; 4th, followed Indian trail north of Lake Koshkonong; 5th and 6th, scouted in vicinity of Lake Koshkonong, and marched to Burnt Village, at junction of Whitewater Creek with Bark River; 7th, marched north of Lake Koshkonong; 8th, returned to Burnt Village; 9th, crossed to Black Hawk's Island, in Lake Koshkonong, scouting; 10th, mustered out of service, at Burnt Village; 11th, left Burnt Village for home, by way of Peoria.